

Index

Note: Italicized page numbers refer to tables

Abu Gheneim tunnel incident, 145 activists, 12, 21 Ahern, Bertie, 167 Al-Dustour (newspaper), 142 Al-Ra'i (newspaper), 142 Amir, Yigal goal of, 87 interrogation of, 82 Anglo-Irish Agreement, 160 antagonists in peace process, 12 compromise between, 23 legitimacy of, 14, 224 public perceptions on, 14, 224 anti-nuclear groups, 36 Anti-Palestinian frame, 205 anti-Semitism in news media, 134 Anti-Terrorist frame, 172, 173 anti-war frames, 28 Arab affairs reporters, 113, 151 Arab-Israeli conflict, 61 media coverage of, 123 news slots for, 154 Arab minorities in Israel, 83 in Knesset, 210 media coverage of, 83 Arafat, Yasser ambivalent attitude of Rabin towards, on Beit Lid, West Bank terrorist attack, in Camp David summit, 182, 189

unmasking of Arafat, 203 unwillingness to conduct serious negotiations, 196 denigration of, 183 image as a reformed terrorist, 112 legitimacy of government of, 75 media coverage of, 111 perception as leader of Israel's enemies, 106 Arnett, Peter, 104 assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, 47, 86 as a disaster wave, 87 effect on Oslo peace process, 87, 91, 225 effect on political climate, 90 incitement in, 87-88, 223 interrogation of Yigal Amir, 82 as issue in 1996 elections, 97 responsibility of right-wing movements in, 225 Avrushmi, Yona, 89 Az Aldin Elkasam, 129 Ba'athism, 138 Barak, Ehud, 48 campaign in 1999 election, 188 in Camp David summit, 182, 189

> agreeing to division of Israel, 192 blaming Palestinians on failure of

summit, 204

Palestinian demands, 199

255



Index

Barak, Ehud (cont.)	dynamic model, 25–30
importance of coming to final	ethnocentrism, 22–23
settlement, 194	four major types of influence, 11–15
public relations campaign, 196, 197	immediacy in news media, 17-18
strategies, 190	influence of media environment, 38–39
unmasking of Arafat, 203	initial principles, 10–11
government of	news media in political environment,
attempt to reach peace with the	37–38
Syrians, 188	number and intensity of crises, 30–31
drop in terrorism during, 53	politics-media-politics (PMP) cycle,
Netanyahu's 1999 campaign strategy	31–37
against, 101	principle of unintended consequences,
no-confidence vote in Knesset, 189	23–24
promoting peace to Israeli news media,	sensationalism in news media, 39–42
193	shared media, 42–43
resignations of coalition partners, 189	simplicity in news media, 20–22
support for Israeli Defense Forces	static model, 15–17
(IDF), 210	Bush, George, Sr., 15, 26, 93
BBC Northern Ireland, 174	Bush, George W., 229
Begin, Menachem, 194, 227	24011, 350160 111, 227
Beit Lid, West Bank terrorist attack, 62	Cairo agreement, 51, 58, 61
comparison with Omagh terrorist	camera operators, 40
attack in Northern Ireland, 170	Camp David Accords (1978), 194
media coverage of, 63–64, 65	Camp David summit, 182
anger at Palestinians, 68	conventional interpretation of, 197
first day newspaper coverage, 66	importance of coming to final
mourning, 68	settlement, 194
number of articles, 63	and Intifada, 183
solutions to terrorism, 69	as an isolated event, 193
narrative about, 71	Israeli delegation in, 193, 198, 200
See also terrorism	Israeli media coverage of, 190
Belfast agreement. See Good Friday	analogy to sports event, 195
agreement	blaming Palestinians on failure of
Belfast Telegraph (newspaper), 164	summit, 199
in attracting Catholic readers, 176	emphasis on personalities in, 195
coverage of Northern Ireland peace	flow of news in, 185
process, 167, 177	lack of past or future reference in,
coverage of Omagh terrorist attack,	194
166, 170	Palestinian Intransigence frame in,
market share, 174	197
readership, 174	sources, 199–200
Blair, Tony, 167, 170	Israel's concessions in, 190, 192, 201
Bosnia, 10	myths about, 202
breakdowns in peace process, 30	negotiations after, 194
broadcasters, 42	Palestinian delegation in, 198
building theory, 8–44	political environment in, 189
drama in news media, 18–20	public opinion polls on, 218
	r



speculations in, 195	Declaration of Principles (DOP), 45
unmasking of Arafat in, 203	as framework for negotiations, 45
See also Oslo peace process	signing of, 47
candidates, 94	Defense Ministry, 49
Catholic Nationalists, 159	degradation ceremonies, 72
Catholics in Northern Ireland	democratic countries, 10, 77
access to news, 174	Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), 160
employment in news media, 175	169, 171
and Omagh terrorist attack, 171	demonstrations, media coverage of,
series of murders by Loyalists	20
paramilitaries, 165	détente, 9
See also Protestants in Northern	dictators, 10
Ireland	disasters, media coverage of, 65,
ceasefires, 216	72
Channel 2, 54	drama in news media, 18-19
Channel 1, 196	and coverage of terrorist attacks, 56
Chernobyl nuclear accident, 36	journalists on, 50
citizens	long-term influences of, 19
access to news, 85	negative consequences of, 229
behavior on peace and conflict, 20	
Clinton, Bill, 95	East Bank, 138
in Camp David summit, 138, 182, 189,	editorials, 19
194	access of Israel population to, 85
election campaign in 1992, 93	content analysis of articles in, 85
in signing of Good Friday agreement,	news of peace, 16
167	vs. political debates, 85
closed societies, 111	political opposition in, 79
closures, 108	role in political waves, 32
CNN effect, 13	vs. social and political forces, 29 editors
Cold War, 9, 28	
collective identity in news media, 42	commercial interests of, 42
Columbine "massacre," 33–34	and emotional news coverage, 40
Committee of National Inquiry, 210	and indexing theory, 21
Communism, 26, 138	sources of information, 29
conflicts, 9	Egypt, 150, 201
media coverage of, 24, 176	elections
researchers' preference for studying, 9	candidates, 94
shared media in, 43	media coverage of, 94
Cooke, Tim, 174	public agenda in, 93
crisis management, 229–230	as triggering events, 32
Cuba, 41	elections of 1996 (Israel), 92-94
	advertisements in, 95
debates, 12	issues, 96
vs. editorials, 85	rank-order correlations, 100
limitations in undemocratic countries,	analysis of, 102
77	media coverage of, 98, 195
in mass media, 12, 77, 222	election news, 99



INDEX

elections of 1996 (Israel) (cont.) substantive and campaign issues, 98	Fair Employment Commission (Northern Ireland), 175
topics in, 99	Fermi nuclear reactor, 36
Netanyahu campaign, 92	Foreign Ministry, 49
correlation between themes and	frames, 27
election news, 101	and construction of news, 29
exploiting the resonance of Peace and	providers of, 37
Security First frames in, 95	validity of, 28, 225
terrorism and Jerusalem as issues in,	funeral marches, coverage of, 216
96–97, 100	•
Oslo peace process as issue in, 93	Gaelic Association, 171
Peres campaign, 92	Gaza, 97, 186
assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, 97	Germany, news events in, 33
correlation between themes and	Gilo, Jerusalem, 207
election news, 101	gimmikim, 81
issues favored in, 99	Golan Heights, 51, 80
promoting Peace frame in, 94–95	Goldstein, Baruch, 58, 61
elite consensus	Good Friday agreement, 158
in Jordan, 139	comparison with Oslo peace process,
level of, 29, 31	158
and media coverage, 29	crises associated with, 159
in Northern Ireland peace process, 161,	elite support for, 162, 173
162, 173	media coverage of, 167, 180, 223
in Oslo peace process, 161	opposition to, 159
and political environment, 26	and political environment, 160
and role of news media in peace	referendum on, 160, 161, 222, 225
conference, 37	signing of, 165
enemies	government leaders. See political leaders
cultural assumptions of, 106	Government Press Office, 49
images of, 14	Grapes of Wrath operation, 93, 99
level of conflict between, 19	Greensweig, Emil, 89
media coverage of, 22, 134, 136	Gulf War (1991), 9, 26, 211
news slots for, 104	gun control, 34
entertainment industry, 34	
ethnocentrism in news media, 22-23	Ha'aretz (newspaper), 54, 58
in coverage of death, 206, 226	balanced content in, 85, 113
in coverage of wars, 203	coverage of Beit Lid terrorist attack,
in Israeli media coverage of Jordanians,	64–65, 69
154	coverage of Camp David summit,
in Israeli media coverage of	198
Palestinians, 119, 186, 200	coverage of Palestinians, 121-122,
in Jordanian news media, 146	135
and sensationalism in news media, 114,	editorials, 85
122	journalists, 114
in tabloid press, 105	news sources, 121–122
event-driven news, 37	pro-Palestinian bias in, 214
extremism, 18, 80	vs. Yediot Ahronot (newspaper), 122



INDEX

Hamas, 54	Israeli media coverage of, 203
in derailment of peace process, 61	changes in news slots, 206
goal of, 124, 127–128, 130–131	differences in editorials, 217
influence of Israeli-Palestinian	ethnocentric coverage of death, 206,
negotiations, 129	215
media coverage of, 60, 74, 106, 124	increased cooperation with
ambivalence in, 125	government and military officials
conflicting views in, 132	206, 209
norms and rules in, 125	interview sessions in, 208
sending messages to Israeli people in,	Palestinian sources in, 207, 213
126	war-mode of reporting, 205
terrorism in, 128, 135	outbreak of, 121, 136, 172
transformation in major political	Palestinian deaths in, 215–216
player, 224	political environment in, 204, 207
messages to Israeli people, 130	as proof of failure of Oslo peace
political standing of, 75, 130	process, 205
as a religious movement, 131	and Sharon's visit to Temple Mount,
and terrorism, 123, 128	204
as a terrorist organization, 131, 134	suicide bombers in, 210
Harvard Journal of Press and Politics, 55	Iraq, 138
Hasbara, 196, 197	Ireland, 159
Hashemites, 137	Irish News (newspaper), 163
Hearst, William Randolf, 41	coverage of Anglo-Irish Agreement,
Hebrew language, 111	176
Hebron	coverage of Northern Ireland peace
aborted withdrawal plan from, 100	process, 168, 177
agreement, 184	coverage of Omagh terrorist attack,
massacre in, 58, 61	165, 170
Hess, Amira, 114, 214, 216	editorials, 164
Hezbollah, 93	readership, 174
Hillsborough Declaration, 164	support for Northern Ireland peace
Hodana, 131	process, 166, 167
Hussein, Saddam, 14, 26	Irish Republic Army (IRA), 170, 171
	Irish Times (newspaper), 167
ideologies, 21	Islamic Jihad, 54
Incitement frame, 88, 223	in derailment of peace process, 61
Index Theory, 21, 27, 83	media coverage of, 74, 135, 224
informants, 221	and terrorism, 123
infotainment, 39	Islamism, 137
institutionally-driven news, 37	Israel
intelligence communities, 53	Barak government
Intifada, First, 109	attempt to reach peace with the
Hamas in, 128	Syrians, 188
Israeli media coverage of, 207–208	drop in terrorism during, 53
Intifada, Second, 104	concessions in Camp David summit,
and Camp David summit, 183, 198	191
Israeli deaths in, 215–216	destruction of, 124



Israel (cont.)	changing news slots for Jordan,
economic boom during Netanhayu and	153–155
Barak years, 186	coverage of Israel in Jordan, 141–146,
Netanyahu government	225
drop in terrorism during, 53	coverage of Jordan in Israel, 150-153
negative stories on Israel in	focus on meetings and economic
Jordanian media, 145	cooperations, 155
relationship with Jordan, 139	news slots for, 155, 156, 206
occupation of territories, 131	vs. Oslo peace process, 137
peace talks with Jordan, 136	and political environment, 138, 139,
peace treaty with Egypt, 118, 201	150, 156
peace with Syria, 200	signing of treaty, 138, 150, 153
Peres government	
issues favored by, 99	Japan, media coverage in, 41
obstacles in promoting Oslo peace	Jawad, Saleh Abdel, 193
process, 50	Jericho, West Bank, 45
plan to withdraw from Hebron, 100	Jerusalem
political waves, 62	division of, 95, 192
territorial withdrawals by, 87	as issue in Netanyahu's 1996 election
relationship with Jordan, 138, 225	campaign, 96, 100
security of, 47	news stories about, 191
wars with Jordan, 137	protests against land for peace deal in,
Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), 210, 211,	192
212	Jerusalem Post (newspaper), 214
Israeli-Palestinian relations, 52	Jordan, 39
comparison with Northern Ireland-UK	Israel's peace talks with, 136
relations, 159	media environment in, 139
cooperation in fighting terrorism, 53	multilateral relations, 154
effect of Camp David summit failure	negotiations with, 58
on, 196	Palestinian refugees in, 138
Jordanian media coverage of, 147–148	relationship with Israel, 137, 224, 225
reciprocity in, 184	security issues, 154
Israeli press. See news media, Israeli	wars with Israel, 112, 137
Israelis	journalists
exposure to negative stories about	in construction of media frames, 90
Palestinians, 118	dealing with ideologies, 21
exposure to news coverage of death, 226	emotional news coverage by, 40
historical enmity between Palestinians	ethics, 113-114, 227-228
and, 106	in finding political controversies,
opinion on second Intifada, 218	84
Israel-Jordan peace process	military correspondents, 211-212
and Israel's media image in Jordan, 144	norms and values, 41
and Jordan's image in Israel, 152	objectivity of, 230
media coverage of, 137-155	peace correspondents, 15
analysis of, 220	and policy makers, 228
changes in news slots, 146-150	promoting peace process to, 229
•	



INDEX

votes on Oslo peace agreements, 161 journalists, Israeli comparison with journalists in Kochav Yair, 204 Kremlinologists, 195 Northern Ireland, 222, 230 conflicting pressures in, 156 coverage of Arab affairs, 113 Labor government, 47 coverage of Camp David summit, 194 Labor Party (Israel), 90 analogy to sports event, 195 Labour Party (United Kingdom), 160 level of, 196-197 land exchange, 202 coverage of Intifada, 214 land for peace, 191 language barriers in media coverage, 111 differences between, 114 Lebanon, 99 government and military sources, 209, leftist movements, 138 and public opinion on Hamas, 132 left-wing groups, 82 relationship with Jordanians, 152 Levy, David, 190 relationship with Palestinians, 74, 108 Levy, Gideon, 214 sensationalist coverage of terrorism, 57, Likud Party, 47 incitement and violence blamed on, 90 media coverage of, 80 sources, 124-125, 227 support for Israel-Jordan peace Los Angeles police department, 38 process, 153, 156 Loyalists paramilitaries, 165 support for Oslo peace process, 49-50, 57 Ma'ariv (newspaper), 54 journalists, Jordanian, 141-142 coverage of Beit Lid terrorist attack, journalists in Northern Ireland, 159 comparison with Israel journalists, 222, coverage of terrorist attacks, 56 editorials, 85 and political consensus, 162 Madrid peace talks (1992), 107 professional norms, 165, 178 Mafdal, 189 Maginness, Alban, 166 Kerak, Jordan, 151 Making Peace (book), 160 key events, 33 Malley, Robert, 201 kidnapping, 129 Manoff, Robert, 230 May Day parades, 195 King, Rodney, 38 media agenda, 37 King Hussein, 112 commitment to peace process, 141, 226 media environment, 25 Israeli opinion on, 138 in democratic countries, 39 in signing of Israel-Jordan peace treaty, dimensions of, 39 138, 145 effect on peace process, 38, 75 Knesset, 46 in Israel, 54, 177 norms and values, 40 Arab minority members in, 210 media coverage of, 58, 79-80 in Northern Ireland, 177 and Northern Ireland peace process, competing with protest movements, 159, 174 no-confidence vote for Barak, 189 responsible journalism in, 40 support for Israel-Jordan peace and sensationalism, 40 See also political environment agreement, 139



media frames, 35	negative stories on Israel in
competition for, 93–94	Jordanian media, 145
construction of, 88, 90	relationship with Jordan, 139
of enemies, 134	media coverage of, 84, 185
and inter-cultural communication,	opposition to Oslo peace process, 184
112	signing Hebron and Wye agreements,
vs. news slots, 36	184
of nuclear energy, 36	strategy in negotiating with
and politics-media-politics (PMP)	Palestinians, 183, 184, 185
cycle, 36	support for Israel-Jordan peace
See also frames	process, 155
Middle East, 10, 47	support for Security First frame, 185
military correspondents, 211-212	victory in 1996 elections, 101
military in news media, 211	New Middle East, 47
Mitchell, George, 160	news
Moslem holy places, 192	commercialism in, 39
Mubarak, Hosni, 208	cycles, 32
Muhammad, 131	effects on peace process, 12
multiplication effect, 94	emotional, 40
	event-driven, 37
narrative structures, 33, 65	institutionally driven, 37
Nasserite pan-Arabism, 138	organizing captions, 68
Nationalism, 172	production process, 230
National Rifle Association, 33	selection of, 33
National Unity government, 205	shocking images in, 40
negotiations in peace process, 17	sources, 119-120, 124
breakdowns in, 17-18	Newsline (television program), 174
breakthroughs in, 34	news media, 8
effect of news media on, 201, 224	as agent of political change, 29, 32, 205
effects of news media on, 13	collective identity in, 42
government dilemma, 192	cooperation with government and
secrecy in, 52	military, 211
See also peace process	coverage of conflicts, 176
Netanyahu, Benyamin, 47	coverage of enemies, 134
agreement with Rabin to lower level of	in displaying sympathy for terrorism
violence, 89	victims, 217-218
on assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, 90	as forum for public debates, 102, 222,
campaign in 1996 elections, 92	223
advertisements in, 96	influences
correlation between themes and	on conflicts and crises, 30-31
election news, 101	on legitimacy of groups and frames,
promoting Peace frame in, 95	225
terrorism and Jerusalem as issues in,	on political environment, 31, 116,
96–97	221
in denigrating Arafat, 183	initiation of politics-media-politics
government of	(PMP) cycles, 38
drop in terrorism during, 53	linguistic and cultural gap in, 175



INDEX

as medium against enemies, 104 military correspondents narrative structures, 65 peace correspondents, 15 reporting of unexpected and accidental events, 37 responsible journalism in, 40 role in political waves, 32, 33, 34 news media, Israeli comparison with news media in Northern Ireland, 164 coverage of Camp David summit, 186, 190 blaming Palestinians on failure of summit, 198-199 emphasis on Israeli concessions, 192, 193, 201 emphasis on personalities in, 195 Palestinian Intransigence frame in, 197 sources, 199-200 viewing the summit as an isolated event, 193 coverage of Hamas, 124 ambivalence in, 125 conflicting views in, 132 norms and rules in, 125 coverage of Jordan, 151, 150-153, 154 coverage of Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), 107 as negotiating partner, 107 coverage of Palestinians anti-Palestinian frame in, 205 blurred distinctions between authorities and rejectionists in, 172 conflicted attitude in, 105 as enemies, 104 as independent political actors, 224 long-term images in, 226 Palestinian sources in, 213, 227 as partners in peace process, 227 coverage of second Intifada, 203 changes in news slots, 206 differences in editorials, 217 ethnocentric coverage of death, 206, 215

increased cooperation with government and military officials, 206, 209 war-mode of reporting, 205 coverage of terrorism, 222 coverage of Yasser Arafat, 111 divergence between Palestinian media and, 188 ethnocentrism in, 135, 186 influence on public, 83-84 Israel's concessions in, 193 vs. Jordanian news media, 140 military correspondents, 211-212 and Oslo peace process, 77-103, 222 competing frames, 94-97 criticism of Netanyahu, 185 election news, 98-103 elections of 1996, 92-94 opposition to Oslo talks, 78-86 Rabin assassination, 86-92 as Palestinians' tool of influence, 109 ratings culture in, 54 relationship with Hamas, 106 in reporting Israeli violations of signed agreements, 186 in reporting Palestinian violations of signed agreements, 187 sensationalism in, 55 tendency to echo the official line, 209-210 use of Arabic language in, 126 news media, Jordanian, 139, 220 coverage of Israel, 141, 145 conflicting pressures in, 141 economic relations between Israel and Jordan, 149 effect of political climate on, 143 internal affairs of Israel, 146 multilateral relations of Israel, 147 negative news, 144, 145, 147, 149 neutral news, 144, 145 normalization of Israel-Jordan relations, 148 October 1992-September 1993 period, 143, 148 October 1994-September 1995 period, 143, 144, 148



news media, Jordanian (cont.)	on political leaders, 13
October 1996-September 1997, 143,	on public debate, 12
148	negative role, 24, 102, 182–183, 201,
positive news, 144, 144, 147, 149	220, 228
effect of political climate on, 145	political strategy, 229
ethnocentrism in, 146	shared media, 42
government control of, 140	static model, 15
vs. Israel news media, 140	theoretical model, 11
professional norms, 141–142	translating political events into news,
news media, Palestinian, 187	38–39
divergence between Israeli media and,	zero-sum frame, 195
188	newspapers, 42
as instrument of hatred against Israel,	newspapers, Israeli, 54
187	articles on Beit Lid terrorist attack, 64
news about Palestinian heroism in, 187	articles on Oslo peace process, 58
news media in Northern Ireland, 158	mixed news, 58
balanced content in, 175	negative news, 58
comparison with Israeli news media,	positive news, 58
164, 222	coverage of Beit Lid terrorist attack, 117
coverage of Northern Ireland peace	coverage of Palestinians, 115
process, 167, 180, 220	1965 period, 115, 117, <i>117</i>
coverage of Omagh terrorist attack,	1985 period, 115, <i>117</i>
169	1995 period, 115, 117, <i>117</i> , 119
in echoing the government line, 172	1997 period, 115, <i>117</i> , 119
editors, 169	changes in, 123
Peace frame in, 163	diminishing ethnocentrism in, 119
and political consensus, 162	sources, 120
readership, 174	editorials, 85
and religious culture, 177	foreign news in, 123
responsible journalism in, 177–179	mainstream view in, 114
sensationalism in, 174, 179-180	newspapers, Jordanian, 140, 142
sound-bite news in, 179	news slots, 35
tabloid press, 177	in coverage of Jordan, 153
news media in peace process, 8, 10	effects of peace on, 146
analysis of, 43	vs. media frames, 36
debate over frames, 92	Palestinian violence in, 116-117, 206
in democratic countries, 10	and political environment, 155
destructive role, 15–16	wars in, 206–207
dynamic model, 25–30	newsworthiness, 94, 146
editorial process, 16	New York Times (newspaper), 202
editorials, 29	Northern Ireland, 10
and elite consensus, 29, 37	media environment in, 159, 177
influences, 11, 221	political environment in, 159
on antagonists, 12-13, 14, 224	sectarian violence in, 165
on Israel population, 86	Northern Ireland Assembly, 161-162
during negotiations, 224	Northern Ireland peace process, 158–180
on political atmosphere, 11	Anti-Terrorist frame in, 172, 173



INDEX

comparison with Oslo and Jordan peace processes, 158 elite consensus in, 161 media environment in, 174-180 Peace frame in, 171, 172 political environment in, 160-173, 174 See also peace process nuclear power, 36, 37 occupied territories, 46 building of settlements in, 186 Israeli media coverage of, 213 withdrawal from, 87 Omagh terrorist attack, 165 comparison with Beit Lid terrorist attack in Israel, 170 effect on Northern Ireland peace process, 171 effect on Protestants and Catholics, 171 media coverage of, 169, 171, 172, 225 open societies, 111 opposition. See political opposition Orange March, 164 organizing captions, 68 Oslo B agreement, 46, 47, 161 Oslo peace process agreements in, 45 Israeli violations of, 186 Palestinian violations of, 187 and assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, 87, 91, 225 comparison with Good Friday agreement, 158 competition between frames in, 48, 101 cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians, 182 effect of terrorism on, 73 elite consensus in, 161 initial stages of, 45-76 analysis of newspaper stories, 58-61 influences of terrorism on political environment, 71-75 narrative structure, 65-71 politics as a series of event, 50-53 problems of sensationalism, 53-57 role of media during terrorist waves, 62-65

Israeli press coverage of, 50, 109 criticism of Netanyahu, 185 editorials, 85 emphasis on short-term events, 50 news slots in, 206 vs. Israel-Jordan peace process, 137 as issue in 1996 elections, 93, 94 as issue in 1999 election campaign, 188 Knesset votes on, 161 land for peace deal in, 191 media coverage of, 46 bias in, 57 Cairo agreement, 61 Hebron massacre, 61 mixed news, 58, 60 negative news, 58, 118 negative stories, 60 peace festival, 60 positive news, 58 short-term perspective in, 51 terrorism, 60 and media coverage of enemies, 105 political waves in, 62 promoting peace to media, 48-50 public debates, 78 opposition of Israeli population to, public opinion on, 91, 162 See also Camp David summit; peace Oslo peace process, collapse of, 182-219 Camp David as an isolated event, 193-197 changes in news slots, 206-209 costs of peace, 191-193 ethnocentric view of death, 215-219 flow of news, 185-188 Israeli generosity and Palestinian intransigence, 197-203 Israel news media and Camp David summit, 188-190 Israel news media and outbreak of Second Intifada, 203-206 media, peace and the Netanyahu era, 183-185 synergy between journalists, the military and government, 209-214



INDEX

Paisley, Dr. Ian, 167, 169, 173 sources, 120 Palestinian Intransigence frame, 197, 200, structural barriers in, 110-111 as an issue in Israel-Jordan relations, Palestinian Liberation Organization 138 news media, 187 (PLO), 45 media coverage of, 84, 107 opinion on Second Intifada, 218 as independent challengers, 117 and Oslo peace process, 110 interview sessions in, 208 alleviating plight of Palestinian as negotiating partner, 107 people, 110 as partner for peace, 105 historic compromise, 110 perception as a terrorist organization, struggle to end occupation, 110 political status of, 134-135, 136 as source of news stories, 119-120 recognition by Israel, 61 terrorist attacks by, 106 transfer of authority to, 52 as a terrorist organization, 107, 112 Palestinians and Israeli media, 104-136 Palestinian National Authority (PNA) changing images of the enemies, delay in transfer of funds to, 186 115-123 establishment of, 126 Hamas message, 130-134 media coverage of, 224 lesson about enemies in news media. as a terrorist entity, 211 134-136 Palestinians, 104 media coverage of Palestinian leadership, 106-110 dependence on Israel, 108 replacing old enemies, 123-127 exposure to news coverage of death, structural and cultural barriers, 110-111, 115 historical enmity between Israelis and, 106 terrorism and media from Hamas Israeli press coverage of, 74 perspective, 127-130 1965 period, 115, 117, 117 Palestinian state, 110 1985 period, 115, 117, 117 Palestinian terrorists, 83 1995 period, 115, 117, 117, 119 partial democracies, 39 peace correspondents, 15 1997 period, 115, 117, 119 changes in, 105, 108, 123 peace festival, 45 cultural barriers in, 112 cultural resonance of, 47 newsworthiness of, 191, 222 diminishing ethnocentrism in, 119 ideological frames in, 112 as positive news, 60 image of Palestinians, 115, 116-117, Peace frame, 28 226 and assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, 91, as independent political actors, 224 92 dominance of, 37 language barriers in, 111 effect of terrorism on, 71 monitoring, 108-109 news sources, 120 government support to, 34 during the period leading up to in initial stages of Oslo talks, 45 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 Camp David summit, 186 plight of the Palestinian people, 119 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Security First frame in, 120, 135 and level of elite consensus, 29 sending messages to its population in media coverage of Palestinians, 118, in, 109-110 135



in Northern Ireland peace process, 163, 172	plan to withdraw from Hebron, 100 political waves, 62
peace festival, 62	territorial withdrawals by, 87
vs. Security First frame, 87, 171	meeting with Hosni Mubarak, 208
See also Security First frame	Peres, Sonia, 80
peace journalism, 230	photographers, 40
peace process, 35	Pines, Opher, interview with, 89
breakdowns in, 30	policy makers, and journalists, 228
debates on, 19, 223	political actors, 92
in democratic countries, 10	impact of news media on, 223
···	legitimacy of, 14
effects of news report on, 12	and sensationalism in news media,
flow of news in, 185–186	222
frames, 28–29	
media coverage of, 21, 35	political agenda, 37
impact on Israel population, 86	political environment, 25
zero-sum frame in, 195	agenda in, 37
and media coverage of enemies, 105,	in Camp David summit, 189
136	definition of, 25
negotiations in, 17, 192	effect on relationship between
number and intensity of crises in,	Palestinians and Israeli media,
30	74
parenting analogy of, 23	impact on news media, 25-26, 221
and political environment, 11,	influence of news media on, 29, 31, 116
72	205
political waves in, 34	influence on image of enemies, 104
promoting, 52	influence on peace process, 11, 38, 46,
public debates, 77	75
role of news media in, 8, 9	and level of elite consensus, 26
stock market analogy of, 11-12, 18	and Northern Ireland peace process,
technical issues in, 51-52	159, 173
peace year, 152, 155	in Second Intifada, 204, 207
Peres, Shimon, 47	and terrorism, 65
calling for new elections, 93	See also media environment
campaign in 1996 elections, 92	political leaders
advertisements in, 96	and media environment, 39
correlation between themes and	and national interests, 134
election news, 101	performance ratings of, 30
promoting Peace frame in, 94–95	public relations, 21, 228, 229
as candidate of Labor Party, 48	reactions to setbacks in peace process,
defeat in 1996 elections, 101	30
in election polls, 91	role in peace process, 33
as Foreign Minister of Sharon's	and sensationalism in news media, 41
National Unity government, 205	and shared media, 43
government of	success in controlling political
issues favored by, 99	environment, 31
obstacles in promoting Oslo peace	summit, 34
process, 50	political movements, 64



political opposition, 78	Protestant Unionists, 159
in editorials, 79	protests, media coverage of, 9, 81
ideological frames of, 80	public agenda, 37
media coverage of, 78-79, 84	public broadcasting system, 54
advantages in, 84	public debates, in mass media, 20
levels of legitimacy, 116	public relations professionals, 21, 223
newsworthiness in, 94	Pundak, Ron, 186
novelties in, 84	,,
outdated information in, 84	Rabin, Leah, 87
talk shows, 85	Rabin, Yitzhak, 46
primaries, 81	assassination of, 47, 86, 223, 225
rise and fall of, 92	as ideal candidate for the left, 48
political parties, 27	interview with, 89
political reporters, 79	on media coverage of peace process,
political waves, 32	55
ambiguity of, 34	in peace ceremonies, 95, 112
assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, 87	in signing of Israel–Jordan peace treaty,
narrative structures for, 33	138, 145
and peace process, 34, 223	speech on night of Beit Lid terrorist
politics, 50	attack, 69
politics-media-politics (PMP) cycle, 31	strategy in negotiating with
in 1996 elections, 101	Palestinians, 184
and improving image of Palestinians in	transformation into martyr for peace,
Israeli press, 119	91
in Israel–Jordan peace process, 224	Rabin government, 46
and media frames, 35, 36	blaming Arafat on Beit Lid terrorist
and news media, 36, 201	attack, 69
in Northern Ireland peace process,	effect of terrorism on, 71-72
163	influence on political environment, 92
and terrorism, 129	obstacles in promoting Oslo peace
two major parts of, 221	process, 50, 53
validity of, 227	opposition to, 86
Press Association (Jordan), 140	political waves in, 62
primaries, 81	in promoting PLO as partner for peace,
Prime Minister, 49	105, 118
media coverage of, 79-80	promotion of Peace frame in, 47
role in peace process, 49	compromises in, 83
principle of cumulative inequality, 78	media coverage of, 75
production assets, 49	news stories about, 60
Progressive Unionist Party, 160	recognition of PLO, 160
Protestants in Northern Ireland	relationship with Israeli news media,
access to news, 174	49
employment in news media, 175	advantages in, 76
and Omagh terrorist attack, 171	hostility in, 72
See also Catholics in Northern	media influence on public discourse,
Ireland	83–84



racism, 228 radical movements influence of news media on, 82 media coverage of, 81 radio stations, 54 coverage of Palestinians, 109 increase in number of, 85 talk shows in, 79 Ramadan, 70 rank-order correlations, 100, 100 ratings culture, 54 Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA), 169, 171, 224 referendum, 160, 222 representative deviance, 53 Republicanism, 172 responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo-Japanese War, 41 sababath, 70 Sabath, 70 Sabat	relationship with opposition, 84 separation proposal, 69, 171	political waves, 62 and terrorism, 61, 69, 92
radical movements influence of news media on, 82 media coverage of, 81 Sein Fein, 172 self-censorship, 23, 178 sensationalism in news media, 17, 40 and ethnocentrism, 114, 122 in Israel, 222 Northern Ireland, 174, 179–180 waging war against, 231 settlements, 186 settlements, 18		
influence of news media on, 82 media coverage of, 81 radio stations, 54 coverage of Palestinians, 109 increase in number of, 85 talk shows in, 79 Ramadan, 70 rank-order correlations, 100, 100 ratings culture, 54 Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA), 169, 171, 224 referendum, 160, 222 representative deviance, 53 Republicanism, 172 responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo-Japanese War, 41 September 11 attacks, 210, 213 setbacks in peace process, 30 settlements, 186 Shabak, 126 Sharansky, Natan, 190 shared media, 42, 230 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish-American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 security zone, 47 Self-censorship, 23, 178 self-censorship, 23, 178 self-censorship, 192 sensationalism in news media, 17, 40 and ethnocentrism, 114, 122 in Israel, 222 Northern Ireland, 174, 179–180 waging war against, 231 september 11 attacks, 210, 213 setbacks in peace process, 30 settlements, 186 Shabak, 126 Sharansky, Natan, 190 shared media, 42, 230 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Shiff, Je'ev, 108 Shiff, Je'ev, 108 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Je'ev, 108 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Je'ev, 108 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Je'ev, 108 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gi		
media coverage of, 81 radio stations, 54 coverage of Palestinians, 109 increase in number of, 85 talk shows in, 79 Ramadan, 70 rank-order correlations, 100, 100 ratings culture, 54 Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA), 169, 171, 224 referendum, 160, 222 representative deviance, 53 Republicanism, 172 responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo–Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sabath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 schools, safety in, 34 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Sein Fein, 172 self-censorship, 23, 178 self-censorship, 23, 178 sensationalism in news media, 17, 40 and ethnocentrism, 114, 122 in Israel, 222 Northern Ireland, 174, 179–180 waging war against, 231 September 11 attacks, 210, 213 settlements, 186 Shabak, 126 Sharansky, Natan, 190 shared media, 42, 230 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Sinn Fein, 160, 222 in Israel, 222 Northern Ireland, 174, 179–180 waging war against, 231 September 11 attacks, 210, 213 settlements, 186 Shabak, 126 Sharansky, Natan, 190 shared media, 42, 230 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Sinn Fein, 160, 171 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish–American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133		
radio stations, 54 coverage of Palestinians, 109 increase in number of, 85 talk shows in, 79 Ramadan, 70 rank-order correlations, 100, 100 ratings culture, 54 Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA), 169, 171, 224 referendum, 160, 222 representative deviance, 53 Republicanism, 172 responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo-Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 schools, safety in, 34 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Relectnorship, 23, 178 sensationalism in news media, 17, 40 and ethnocentrism, 114, 122 in Israel, 222 Northern Ireland, 174, 179–180 waging war against, 231 September 11 attacks, 210, 213 setbacks in peace process, 30 settlements, 186 September, 13 ttacks, 210, 213 setbacks in peace process, 30 settlements, 186 Sharansky, Natan, 190 shared media, 42, 230 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Sinn Fein, 160, 171 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish-American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133	_	
coverage of Palestinians, 109 increase in number of, 85 talk shows in, 79 Ramadan, 70 rank-order correlations, 100, 100 ratings culture, 54 Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA), 169, 171, 224 referendum, 160, 222 representative deviance, 53 Republicanism, 172 responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo–Japanese War, 41 Sensan immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Schools, safety in, 34 Search for Common Ground, 230 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 swistionalism in news media, 17, 40 and ethnocentrism, 114, 122 in Israel, 222 Northern Ireland, 174, 179–180 waging war against, 231 September 11 attacks, 210, 213 setbacks in peace process, 30 settlements, 186 Shabak, 126 Sharansky, Natan, 190 shared media, 42, 230 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gilad, 193 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish—American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133	S .	
increase in number of, 85 talk shows in, 79 Ramadan, 70 rank-order correlations, 100, 100 ranking culture, 54 Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA), 169, 171, 224 referendum, 160, 222 representative deviance, 53 Republicanism, 172 responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo-Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sabbath, 70 Sabbath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 sat office of Common Ground, 230 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 and ethnocentrism, 114, 122 in Israel, 222 Northern Ireland, 174, 179–180 waging war against, 231 September 11 attacks, 210, 213 setbacks in peace process, 30 sethacks in peace process, 30 setbacks in peace process, 30 sethacks in peace process, 30 sethacks in peace process, 30 setbacks in peace process, 30 sethacks in peace process, 30 setabcks in peace process, 30 setacks in peace process, 30 set		
talk shows in, 79 Ramadan, 70 rank-order correlations, 100, 100 ratings culture, 54 Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA), 169, 171, 224 referendum, 160, 222 representative deviance, 53 Republicanism, 172 responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo–Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sabbath, 70 Sabath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 schools, safety in, 34 Search for Common Ground, 230 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 In Israel, 222 Northern Ireland, 174, 179–180 waging war against, 231 September 11 attacks, 210, 221 settlements, 186 Sharansky, Natan, 190 shared media, 42, 230 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Shar, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Sinn Fein, 160, 171 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish–American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133	· ·	
Ramadan, 70 rank-order correlations, 100, 100 rank-order correlations, 100, 100 ratings culture, 54 Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA), 169, 171, 224 referendum, 160, 222 representative deviance, 53 Republicanism, 172 responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B'Aliya Russo–Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 schools, safety in, 34 Search for Common Ground, 230 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Northern Ireland, 174, 179–180 waging war against, 231 September 11 attacks, 210, 213 setbacks in peace process, 30 settlements, 186 September 11 attacks, 210, 213 setbacks in peace process, 30 settlements, 186 Sharansky, Natan, 190 shared media, 42, 230 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 sherd, 42, 230 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Sinn Fein, 160, 171 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish-American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133		
rank-order correlations, 100, 100 ratings culture, 54 Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA), 169,		
ratings culture, 54 Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA), 169, 171, 224 referendum, 160, 222 settlements, 186 representative deviance, 53 Sharansky, Natan, 190 Republicanism, 172 shared media, 42, 230 responsible journalism, 40 Sharon, Ariel right-wing movements, 73 election as Prime Minister, 205 roomments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 Shas, 189 media coverage of, 79 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 riots, 80 Sher, Gilad, 193 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Sinn Fein, 160, 171 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Six-Day War, 55 Aliya Social Democratic Party, 160 Social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Sabbath, 70 Soviet leadership, 195 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 Schools, safety in, 34 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA), 169, 171, 224 settlements, 186 settlements, 186 settlements, 186 settlements, 186 settlements, 186 settlements, 186 shabak, 126 settlements, 186 shabak, 126 sharensky, Natan, 190 shared media, 42, 230 seponsible journalism, 40 shared media, 42, 230 sharon, Ariel right-wing movements, 73 election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 legitimacy of, 91 shas, 189 media coverage of, 79 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Sinn Fein, 160, 171 six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish-American War, 41 satellite television channels, 140 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 schools, safety in, 34 Search for Common Ground, 230 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Hamas, 133		
referendum, 160, 222 representative deviance, 53 Republicanism, 172 responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo–Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 schools, safety in, 34 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Shabak, 126 Sharnsky, Natan, 190 sharen dedia, 42, 230 Sharon, Ariel relection as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sharon, Ariel relection as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Sharon, Ariel relection as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Sharon, Ariel relection as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Sharon, Ariel relection as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Sharon, Ariel relection as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Sharon, Ariel relection as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Sharon, Ariel relection as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Sharon, Ariel relection as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Sharon, Ariel relection as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 sharch delection as Prime Minister, 205 sharch media dection as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 sharch media dection as Prime Minister, 205 sharch media dection as Prime Minister, 205 sharch media dection as Prime Minister, 205 sharch media dection as Prime diection as Prime Minister, 205 sharch media dection as P	•	
referendum, 160, 222 representative deviance, 53 Republicanism, 172 responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo–Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sabath, 70 Sabath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 scerecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Sharansky, Natan, 190 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shars, 189 Sharansky, Natan, 190 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shars, 189 Sharansky, Natan, 190 shared media, 42, 230 selection as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shas, 189 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish–American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133		
representative deviance, 53 Republicanism, 172 responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo–Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sabbath, 70 Sabbath, 70 Sabath, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 scerecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Sharansky, Natan, 190 shared media, 42, 230 sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Sinn Fein, 160, 171 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish–American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133		
Republicanism, 172 responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo—Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shars, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shars, 189 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shars, 189 Sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shars, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gilad, 193 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 Social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish–American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133		•
responsible journalism, 40 right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Roso—Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Aliegitimacy of, 91 sharon, Ariel election as Prime Minister, 205 visit to Temple Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Shes, Gilad, 193 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Sinn Fein, 160, 171 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish—American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133		
right-wing movements, 73 comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo-Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Shas, 189 Neberlo Mount, 204 Shas, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Sixn Pein, 160, 171 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish-American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133		
comments on leftist press, 82 legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo—Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 schools, safety in, 34 Secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Shex, Gilad, 193 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Substance, 108 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sher, Gil		
legitimacy of, 91 media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo–Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 schools, safety in, 34 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Shas, 189 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Shiff, Ze'ev, 108 Sinn Fein, 160, 171 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish–American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133		
media coverage of, 79 riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo–Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 schools, safety in, 34 Search for Common Ground, 230 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 200 Sher, Gilad, 193 Sin Fein, 160, 171 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish–American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133		visit to Temple Mount, 204
riots, 80 Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo–Japanese War, 41 Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Sabbath, 70 Soviet leadership, 195 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 Satellite television channels, 140 Schools, safety in, 34 Search for Common Ground, 230 Secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Sinn Fein, 160, 171 Six-Day War, 55 Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Pearty, 160 Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Party, 160 Social Party, 160 Social Party, 160 S		•
Rodgers, Jim, 166 Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Sinn Fein, 160, 171 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Sabbath, 70 Soviet leadership, 195 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 Satellite television channels, 140 Social Scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Soviet leadership, 195 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 Spanish—American War, 41 Sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 Schools, safety in, 34 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 effect on Israel's political environment, and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Hamas, 133	media coverage of, 79	
Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42 Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Russo–Japanese War, 41 Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Party, 160 Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Party, 160 Social Percy, 160 Social Percy, 160 Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Percy, 160 Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Percy, 1	riots, 80	Sher, Gilad, 193
Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B' Aliya Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Sobath, 70 Soviet leadership, 195 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 Spanish—American War, 41 satellite television channels, 140 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 Schools, safety in, 34 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Social Democratic Party, 160 Social Scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Sabletists, 228	Rodgers, Jim, 166	Shiff, Ze'ev, 108
Aliya Social Democratic Party, 160 Russo–Japanese War, 41 social scientists, 228 Southern Lebanon, 47 Sabbath, 70 Soviet leadership, 195 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 Spanish–American War, 41 satellite television channels, 140 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 schools, safety in, 34 State Department, role in peace Search for Common Ground, 230 process, 9 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Security First frame, 47 82 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 effect on Israel's political environment, and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 effect on Peres government, 93 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Hamas, 133	Ruiko, Kuroiwa, 42	Sinn Fein, 160, 171
Russo–Japanese War, 41 Sabbath, 70 Soviet leadership, 195 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 Satellite television channels, 140 Schools, safety in, 34 Search for Common Ground, 230 Secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish–American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133	Russian immigrants party. See Yisrael B'	
Southern Lebanon, 47 Sabbath, 70 Soviet leadership, 195 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 Spanish—American War, 41 satellite television channels, 140 schools, safety in, 34 Search for Common Ground, 230 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Soviet leadership, 195 Spanish—American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133	•	
Sabbath, 70 Soviet leadership, 195 Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 Spanish—American War, 41 satellite television channels, 140 schools, safety in, 34 Search for Common Ground, 230 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Spanish—American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133	Russo–Japanese War, 41	social scientists, 228
Sadat, Anwar al-, 194, 201, 227 satellite television channels, 140 schools, safety in, 34 Search for Common Ground, 230 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Spanish–American War, 41 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 State Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133		Southern Lebanon, 47
satellite television channels, 140 sphere of legitimate controversy, 28 schools, safety in, 34 State Department, role in peace process, 9 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 state Department, role in peace process, 9 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133	Sabbath, 70	Soviet leadership, 195
schools, safety in, 34 State Department, role in peace Search for Common Ground, 230 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133		Spanish-American War, 41
Search for Common Ground, 230 process, 9 secrecy in negotiations, 13 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Security First frame, 47 82 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 effect on Israel's political environment, and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 effect on Peres government, 93 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Hamas, 133	satellite television channels, 140	sphere of legitimate controversy, 28
secrecy in negotiations, 13 Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133		State Department, role in peace
Security First frame, 47 as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 82 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133	Search for Common Ground, 230	process, 9
as dominant ideological frame in 1965, 118 and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 suicide bombers, 62, 71 effect on Israel's political environment, 91 effect on Peres government, 93 Hamas, 133	secrecy in negotiations, 13	Students for a Democratic Society (SDS),
118 effect on Israel's political environment, and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 effect on Peres government, 93 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Hamas, 133	Security First frame, 47	82
and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Hamas, 133	as dominant ideological frame in 1965,	suicide bombers, 62, 71
and the Israeli right wing, 54 as issue in 1996 elections, 101 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Hamas, 133	118	effect on Israel's political environment,
as issue in 1996 elections, 101 effect on Peres government, 93 in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Hamas, 133	and the Israeli right wing, 54	
in Netanyahu campaign, 95 Hamas, 133		effect on Peres government, 93
	in Netanyahu campaign, 95	
	in media coverage of Palestinians, 120,	in second Intifada, 210
in Tel Aviv, 73		
Netanyahu's support for, 185 summit, 34	Netanyahu's support for, 185	
vs. Peace frame, 87, 171 Sunday papers, 177		



Syria, 138	Ulster Democratic Party, 160
Israeli press coverage of, 150	Ulster Newsletter (newspaper), 163
as issue in 1996 elections, 97	coverage of Anglo-Irish Agreement,
negotiations with, 58	176
peace with Israel, 45, 189, 200	coverage of Northern Ireland peace
	process, 168, 177
tabloidization, 55	coverage of Omagh terrorist attack,
tabloid press, 105, 177	166
talk shows, 79	readership, 174
Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace	support for Northern Ireland peace
Research, 46, 162	process, 166, 225
Tel Aviv University, 162	Ulster Television, 174
television stations, 85	Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), 160, 163,
coverage of 1996 elections, 98	167, 171
coverage of Palestinians, 109	United Kingdom, 159
talk shows in, 79	United Kingdom Unionist Party (UKUP)
Temple Mount, 184	160
giving up sovereignty over, 191	UTV Live (television program), 174
Moslem holy places on, 192	
Sharon's visit to, 204	Vietnam War, 9
terrorism, 9	media coverage of, 26, 205
effect on political system, 71	public debates on, 28
by Hamas, 123	radical movements opposed to, 82
as issue in Netanyahu's 1996 election	violence
campaign, 96, 100	media coverage of, 80
as major form of violence, 210	motivation for, 82
media coverage of, 55, 60, 61	sectarian, 165
diminishing importance of, 64	victims of, 91
editorials, 85	violence in youth, 34
effect on political status of	
opposition, 73, 224	War on Terror campaign, 213, 229
sensationalism in, 65, 72, 76,	wars, 9
222	media coverage of, 21, 203-204,
opportunities for right-wing	206–207
movements in, 73	role of news media in, 9, 14
by Palestinian Liberation Organization	as triggering events, 32
(PLO), 106	Waxman, Nachshon, 62, 72
solutions to, 70	West Bank, 45, 97, 138
accelerating peace process, 70	planned annexation of, 202
victims of, 216	safe passage between Gaza and, 186
worst acts of, 46	settlements, 184
Thomson, William, 167	women's rights, 28
Three Mile Island, 36	Wye agreement, 184, 188, 200
Transjordanians, 138	
triggering events, 32	Yavin, Haim, 88
Tunisia, 107	Yediot Ahronot (newspaper), 54



Index

articles on Oslo peace process, 58
coverage of Beit Lid terrorist attack, 64
denigrating Arafat in, 68
PLO constantly breaking agreement, 69
coverage of Camp David summit, 189, 198, 201
coverage of Palestinians, 121–122

coverage of terrorist attacks, 56 editorials, 85 vs. *Ha'aretz* (newspaper), 122 news sources, 121–122 Yisrael B'Aliya, 189, 190 youth violence, 34
Zionism, 132, 137